

THE
EQUILIBRIUM:
OR
BALANCE OF OPINIONS,
ON A
Late Resignation.

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EQUILIBRIUM:
OR
Balance *of* Opinions,
ON A
LATE RESIGNATION.

BY A
CITIZEN OF THE WORLD
RESIDING IN LONDON.



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EQUILIBRIUM

Balance of Opinions

LATE REVISION

CITIZEN OF THE WORLD

LONDON

INDEX



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LATE RESIGNATION.

AS the Nature of the Subject which I propose to treat of is nice and intricate, and may seem to come but very little under my Cognizance, I shall only say, that the Freedom which I enjoy in common with my Fellow-Citizens, encourages me to offer my Sentiments there-upon to the Perusal of the Public.

SUCH a Diversity of Opinions has already appeared in the weekly Papers, and in Pamphlets of every Kind, that it is almost impossible for me to be thought impartial by those who are already prepossessed in Favour of either.

EUROPE in general, and I may say the whole World, looks upon *England*, and more especially upon this Capital, as the Asylum and Resort of the most Polished and Sensible ; and to their Judgment I appeal, whether I have derogated from their Laws, or deserved their Favour.

No Man in an elevated Station of Life, is secure from Envy, Criticisms, and innumerable Censures. His Conduct is equally try'd by the Crucible of Truth, as by the Alembick of popular Discourse. The malicious Darts which angry Minds let fly against him, are generally repelled by Numbers of enraged Apologists, who, being guided by different Motives, make it their Business and Pleasure to approve of all his Plans, without Examination of Consequences. The View of Preferment, or of keeping their Places, or other Motives of Self-Interest, throws a Mist before the Eyes of his Partisans, and renders them blind to all Deficiencies in the Conduct of their exalted Hero. He, in the Opinion of these zealous Flatterers, is an Oracle which can never err ; the too credulous World is generally the Echo of this flattering Panegyrick, till a small Number of clear-sighted, and intirely disinterested Spectators

Spectators start up, who are able impartially to judge, by the Course which the Pilot steers, whether he shall be able dextrously to avoid the Rocks, and sail safe into Port, or (to speak in plainer Terms) who may know how to set a just Value upon his Talents, Actions, and Schemes.

THE impartial Reader is best able to judge whether I deserve to be ranked among this last Class.

IF we refer to the Sentiments of the Generality of Writers who have employed their Pens on this Subject, we are told, That it is not a Cabal, or any particular Party, but the whole Nation, which glories in having supported Mr. P—t in the honourable Post he possessed till the Time of his voluntary Resignation.

THE Apologists of this great Minister are multiplied *ad infinitum*: He is the greatest Man, say they, that hath ever appeared at the Helm of Affairs: All the Applause that conspires to elevate the profound, prudent, active, and penetrating Mind, was daily heaped upon him. From this Argument ought to issue a Proof of some superior Merit,

rit, and to vary from this Opinion is contrary to good Sense.

COULD these Gentlemen deprive me of all human Reason, I should be far from denying but that their Hero hath deserved Part of this Applause, by his great Application to Study, and the Knowledge of Public Affairs : but give me Leave to say that he hath not directed his Actions with the same Prudence and Readiness, the same Genius and Capacity, which have been conspicuous in great Men of former Times, superior to whom they allow him, in saying, That this Minister never had his Equal : This indeed I could not venture to assert, without exposing myself to the Derision of the Public, venerable as much for their Learning, as for their Judgment confirmed and authorised by Facts : who form their Opinion of the Moderns by the Antients, and from time to time review the memorable Actions and extensive Capacities of those great Men, who might serve as Models to Mr. P—t. By Models, I would not be supposed to recommend an Imitation of their Conduct in every respect, (as there may be some Defects, which a strict Integrity cannot approve of,) I mean those brilliant Acts, which even to
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the latest Posterity will make them admired and imitated by all those who have at Heart the Glory of their Sovereign, and the Welfare of the State.

A *Ximenes*, a *Don Antonio Perez*, a *Sully*, a *Richelieu*, a *Mazarin*, a *Dormea*, an *Oxenstiern*, and many others, have acquired such distinguished Reputation, that to eclipse their Glory, Heaven must have supplied us with some very extraordinary Talents.

THIS Comparison here brought, relative to the Point in Question, an accustomed and natural Critic might say cannot be just, because despotic States are governed by Principles very different from those of a democratic Government, in which the Minister hath neither the same Authority, or the same necessary Succours in Readiness, to compleat his Intention for the present Benefit of the Government.

CAN Mr. P—t say, in his own Justification, that during his Administration, he ever met with the like Obstacles? Could any Republic afford Models less dangerous to imitate than those of despotic States?

HOLLAND

HOLLAND gives us a *Barneveldt*, an *Huysius*, a *Slinglandt*, a *Fagel*, and many others, whose Capacity, Prudence and Zeal, are eloquent Testimonies of their judiciously managing the Reins of their Governments.

LET us borrow nothing from Strangers: Let us take from our own Records, the Maxims of a great Statesman; we shall find them in the Conduct, Schemes, and Negotiations of a *Cecil*, a *Burleigh*, a *Walter Raleigh*, a *Robert Harley*, and many other great Men, to whom the Nation is beholden for the many Benefits it hath acquired by their consummate Wisdom. One of these great Men judiciously observes, *That the State is a Compound of Machines, of which a wise Man is the Primum Mobile, or great Spring*: and adds (as *Solomon* saith) *We fall by our too great Desire of ruling*.

MR. P—t, without doubt, was not a Minister who was ignorant of, or despised these noble Sentiments; he was not, when he accepted the Seals, to be informed what were the principal Duties of a great Statesman, who is purposely confined to a strict Probity, and a compleat Knowledge of the Interest of the State at home and abroad; to a staunch
Fidelity

Fidelity on all Occasions, and to consider the public Welfare as an Altar where his own Property ought to be sacrificed; to a particular Taste for every-thing which is altogether grand, magnificent, and necessary for the public Good; always to speak, whether *memoriter*, or from written Arguments, as a Freeman, and to be a Slave to Nothing but his Duty; remembering that in the Cabinet or Council of his Master, his Language ought always to be accompanied with a prudent Circumspection, ever preserving that Respect and Attachment he ought to have for him, and the Regard due to his Equals, at least in the Presence of the Members of the Privy Council, because it often happens that good Advice is rejected, by being given in a proud haughty Style, and with too much Warmth and Conceit. These Qualifications are always accompanied with a pleasing Address, Mildness, Patience, an equitable and well-managed Liberality, and, above all, a profound Knowledge of Man in every Station of Life. Another Study resulting from the former, is that which shows the Fortune and Success of Particulars, the Industry of the Subjects, either in Agriculture, Commerce, Navigation, War, and Arts, the true and inexhaustible Resources of a State, by which a Minister

Minister may prudently embrace, defend and support the Interest and Glory of a free People.

ALL these Qualifications, say the enthusiastic Apologists of the Talents of Mr. P—t, he possessed in a Degree superior to any Man living; this Language seems very different from our Sentiments at this Time, when we have among us so many Gentlemen who have given sufficient Proof of their Abilities. Mr. P—t not being immortal, the Nation would be superlatively unfortunate, if in losing him no other Man could be found, equally worthy, to supply his Place. Besides, I know not whether this Excess of Praise agrees with certain Concessions of Mr. A——n B——d, who willing to justify his intimate Friend, declares that he disdained not to hear certain Propositions purposely made by the cunning and crafty Mr. *Buff*, in the Name of the Court of *Madrid*, and which seemed as if they were to serve as a Preliminary at the Negotiation of Peace, between our Court and that of *Versailles*.

It is very evident that this Proposition, which might have been concerted with the *Spanish* Minister at *Madrid*, tended only to gain

gain Time, which the *French* Ministry wanted to retard the Operations of our Fleets, and ward off the Blows we might give them, and for which our Enemies could not have been prepared, if we had carried them into Execution at the proper Season.

It is not less probable, that during these Delays the *French* Ministry had in view the Junction of the King's Household Troops with the Army of *Soubise*, and the sending of another Reinforcement to that of *Braglio*; to convey Provisions, and fortify their Colonies in *America*; and lastly, to prepare themselves for a vigorous Campaign in *Germany*.

If Mr. P—t was not able to foresee, or at least suspect the Intention of the Court of *Versailles*, by the premature Proposition made by Mr. *Buffy*, I shall not from thence conclude that our Patriot Minister wanted Penetration; the Man who is endowed with the greatest Share thereof, may possibly be imposed upon by one who is habitually versed in disguising the Truth. I shall only say, with *Sallust*, That when a Minister attributes to his own Genius the Success which is only owing to Chance, he is easily led into an Error, which prevents him from guarding

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against

against the Snares which a Mind infinitely more crafty and designing than his own, lays for him.

Mr. Bussy was known at *London*, twenty-four Years ago, to be a Man of this Stamp, and the more he was known to be such, the more easy it was for a Minister (the *Primum Mobile* of the Public Interest) to guard himself against his crafty Designs.

WITHOUT entering into a Detail of the Propositions, let us see what Answer Mr. P—t should have made to Mr. Bussy, when that Negotiator mentioned to him the Intentions of the Court of *Madrid*: I perceive, he might instantly have replied, that your Court is very far from coming to a general Pacification; It is not to be brought about by Methods remote and distant to the Purpose: You only endeavour, by amusing us, to compass a Point in View, more favourable to your own Interest than ours.

'Tis true Mr. P—t sent back to Mr. Bussy the Memorial wherein Mention was made of the Interests of *Spain* contrary to those of *England*, insinuating to him by a particular Letter, that neither his Majesty, nor his Ministers,

nisters, would ever receive any-thing of that Kind, viz. that should include other Negotiations than those which were entirely the Basis of his Mission, and tended to a solid and lasting Peace. To what Purpose are we alarmed with these ridiculous Insinuations, when we do nothing in consequence of them? Are we to fear Mr. *Buffy's* Threats? Or are we to pursue our Plan, and compel *France* to do what in Justice she ought? — No; — The privileged Emissary of the Court of *France* observes with Pleasure our Patriot Minister bite at the Bait, and taken by the Hook; after which he retires with a secret Satisfaction at the Anxiety into which this lucky Stratagem had plunged the Support of the *British* Interest.

Mr. P—r writes to Lord B——l at *Madrid*; Mr. *Buffy*, or his Court, takes Advantage of this Interval: *France* now pursues different Measures, and, like a losing Gamester, resumes fresh Spirits; and, to intimidate weak Minds, gives out, that a Treaty of Alliance, offensive and defensive is nearly concluded between her and *Spain*; Lord T——e and Mr. P—t, — and why not a third? — Why, lest they should be called the *English* Triumvirate: — My Lord,

and the Minister, his near Ally, present to the Council a Memorial wherein is contained a Project for a Declaration of War against *Spain*; this Plan was not approved of; and because the whole august Assembly, the grand Support of the Crown, the true Pillars of the Nation, all prudent, wise, and illustrious Noblemen, find nothing sufficiently culpable in the *Spanish* Nation for us to declare War against them, because these true Defenders and Supporters of our Rights, thoroughly versed in domestic and foreign Affairs, earnestly wish for a solid and lasting Peace, and a Decrease of the national Debt, and lastly, because their Sovereign, the best of Kings, is not of their Opinion, this Lord and Mr. P—t think that the finest Flower in their Nosegay is taken away, and that they are deprived of all the Glory of that high Capacity with which they both believe themselves endowed. They both therefore voluntarily resign the Places they held upon the Goodwill of his Majesty.

I WILL not take upon me to say, that these Resignations, notwithstanding the lofty Spirit that accompanied them, are a Proof of that Haughtiness, which would usurp a Pre-eminence over all, and bear an absolute
Sway

Sway over the Will both of Sovereign and Subjects ; I would not judge so rashly ; I say only, that the Resignation of Mr. P—t, crowned with an Act of Goodness and Magnificence which perfectly characterises the most generous of Monarchs, should not be considered by the Majority of the Partisan Patriots of Mr. P—t as an Injury done on the Part of the late Minister, to the whole Nation. I will venture to affirm, that these Gentlemen have no Reason to blame what they ought to applaud ; viz. his Submission to the generous Will of his august Master : Such a Refusal, after his Resignation, would have been a compleat Grafting of Pride on Self-Love ; yet without depriving his Majesty of the Pleasure of shewing his gracious Inclination of rewarding meritorious Services. This virtuous Prince hath evidently testified, on this Occasion, that he will be always ready to recompense all good Offices done to the Crown and Country, with suitable Acknowledgments.

If, on the Behalf of some particular ill-temper'd People, who would be called the Public, a Censure thus misplaced might influence the Suffrage of the whole Nation, who would not, after having faithfully served
his

his King and Country, reap the Profit justly due to him, for his generous Impartiality in performing the Duties of his Office?

Is it not very evident, that a Censure of this Nature would confine the Prince's Generosity, which can never be too extensive in rewarding real Merit, as it never fails to procure him the Esteem and Affections of his Subjects.

At this Conjuncture, this generous Act of his Majesty is a manifest Proof that this Prince, truly worthy of his Throne, takes a Pleasure in putting into execution the Maxim of *Philip II. King of Spain*, who frequently would say to his Minister, *Take care of my Affairs, and I will take care of yours.*

In some Parts of the World, where the Minister is invested with the intire Management of State-Affairs, a parallel Resignation to that of Mr. P—t, would have been highly resented by the Sovereign; 'Tis the Nature of such Princes to discharge a Minister (though perhaps quite contrary to their own Inclination) because they look upon it as derogating from Honour, and inconsistent with that Submission which is due from a Subject,

Subject, to request them to stay; and more especially when he, by his own Choice, gives up his Employ; under such Circumstances, it would be dangerous even to draw up a Petition for that Purpose; but (blessed be God) in a Country where we enjoy that happy Liberty we can boast of in these Kingdoms, we need not fear any misplaced Resentment for a Proceeding in other Respects, just and reasonable? What a severe Punishment would it be, not to permit an honourable Gentleman, who found himself declining under any bodily Weakness or Infirmary, or who perceived his Faculties impaired, not to permit him, I say, to reflect thus within himself; I have been, thro' my Zeal for the Good of my Nation, and the Honour of my King, the Slave of a difficult and fatiguing Duty; 'tis Time for me to quit this voluntary Servitude, but though I resign this honourable Post, I may still preserve the Privilege of partaking of the Sentiments of my Fellow-Citizens, in every Thing which may concern the Prosperity of my Country.

BUT for what Reason do some People exclaim against Mr. P—t's Resignation? Is it the national Interest which excites their Clamour? No: 'tis their own private Benefit: They

They had been informed that this zealous Defender of the Liberties and Glory of the Nation had projected a War against Spain. This they very readily credited, because they had projected some lucrative Plans, previous thereto; but this unexpected Resignation rendering their Schemes ineffectual, they regarded this Decrease of their chimerical Revenues, as an Affair which concerned the Interest of the Public in general. How base are such sentiments!

THE *English* Writers would be thought to have more solid Sense than those of other Countries, but we often find that they have no great Share of this amiable Qualification. I shall take the Liberty to tell them, that in their Panegyrics and Criticisms, they too precipitately run into Extremes. Would they express their Resentment, 'tis by injurious Flourishes, sarcastical Expressions, low and revengeful Terms, almost invective; on the contrary, would they testify their Approbation, 'tis by extravagant Encomiums, almost hyperbolic; witness the enthusiastic Panegyric upon G——l W—f, and the Criticisms passed upon those who have (though without any sinister Views) pursued wrong Measures. I apprehend that a Medium
might

might be observed, and that a learned and reasonable Author can only acquire Reputation, by his Understanding and Impartiality in promoting the Justice of his Cause.

AN Author may sometimes be misinformed either to the Advantage or Disadvantage of the Party whose Actions he exposes to the Public? but when he is perfectly assured of any Step, really culpable, in the Conduct of the Person characterised (all odious Crimes excepted) Humanity and Compassion ought always to preside over him, and should generously incline him, rather on the Behalf of Moderation than Rigour. Suppose one Man bestows upon another a just Encomium, I do not think, that, at the Expence of true Merit, buried in Oblivion, he ought to attribute to his Hero more Glory and Honour, than another Man, in the same Post, might possibly have deserved.

THOUGH the Loss of *Minorca*, and that of the Battle of *Hastenbeck*, and the Defeat at *St. Cas*, were primary Attempts, not so favourable to the Glory of our Arms, yet our Revenues, our Forces by Sea and Land, and all our other Resources, which we can, and have not yet put in Action, were not so much impaired by those trivial Checks, as to war-

rant any one to say, that the Nation was in so critical a Situation as some Writers would insinuate; particularly one, who in a Letter to a Right Honourable Personage, begins thus: "The City of *London*, as far as Memory extends, will never forget that you "accepted the Seals at a Time when this "Nation was in the most deplorable Situation." If this Writer was not hired to express himself with so much Exaggeration, he clearly shews himself a Stranger to the Diversity of Fortune, and that he knows not to distinguish a glorious Prosperity from a dreadful Indigence. Had he known the Sweets of an honest Mediocrity, he would have observed more Moderation in his Description. How would he express himself, was he to lose a twentieth Part of his Substance? Would he not cry out, — I am a dead Man! — I am murder'd! — I die with Hunger! — I am assassinated! — For, after the **MOST DEPLORABLE SITUATION**, these extreme Dangers generally follow.

I would advise this Writer to sum up (if he has Capacity sufficient) the Losses which *France* hath already sustained in her Depopulation, her Revenues, and her Commerce, by the Wars in the Years 1740 and 1748; I
would

would advise him to form a just Idea of the maritime Forces of that Crown; and then to take a Survey of our naval Force, the invincible Bulwark of this Monarchy.

LET him reflect on the Utility and Strength of our Alliances, with the *Alexander* of Germany, and other Princes of the Empire, firm and invariable in their Engagements with us, and Warriors valiant and formidable to our common Enemies. This eloquent Author (and without Doubt able Observer) will find out, by the most simple Rule of Algebra, that we were not so disabled as he pronounces us; when Mr. P—t came into the Post of Secretary of State.

WERE we destitute of the necessary Means for putting our Land Forces into the same good Condition in which they now stand? Is it Mr. P—t that hath disciplined and taught our Provincial Militia the Use of Arms, so necessary to repel a warlike Enemy? Could not the Losses we had sustained at the Beginning of the War, be put in Balance with the Ruin of our Enemy's Commerce, by the Taking of their Ships on the Ocean, *Mediterranean*, and *American* Seas, immediately after their violating the Treaty

of *Aix la Chapelle*? Had the Nation lost that martial Spirit which, from the Foundation of this Monarchy, hath crowned her with immortal Lawrels? Had she lost that Credit which hath supported her, and which doth and will support her, so long as any Confidence shall subsist in the public Funds?

OUR Debts will be increased say many of those to whom not one Farthing is due either at the Bank or Exchequer. On the other hand who can say that we shall not have at the Helm of Affairs (and perhaps we already have) one of those superior Geniuses, that are rarely to be met with, and who, undoubtedly, will be as capable as his Predecessor, to remedy the Inconveniencies which might result from an Increase of the national Debt.

To whom are we indebted? Shall a Tipstaff of the Parliament of *Paris* be charged by a Summons or Warrant to compel us to pay?

I challenge this bold and enthusiastic Apologist to prove, by stronger Arguments than those I can produce against him, that a War with *Spain* would better contribute to the Payment of them than a solid Peace. Not that I would insinuate, that we ought to
comply

comply with the disadvantageous Terms proposed to us by Mr. *Buffy*, on the Part of *France*. The Honour of the Crown, and true Interest of the Nation, forbid our Compliance therewith.

How many substantial Reasons might I produce, to prove that a Rupture with *Spain*, by setting all *Europe* in Flames, and obliging us to divide our Forces by Sea and Land, would only prolong the War, and create a greater Effusion of human Blood, without the least Assurance of Advantage to compensate for the Loss of our brave Countrymen?

'Tis very visible that a Plan which tended only to increase the public Calamities, would naturally excite the generous Compassion of a Prince so conspicuously humane and tender, as the august Sovereign with whom Heaven hath blessed us, and indeed that it would not easily suit with the compassionate, humane, and just Sentiments of the Members of his Privy Council.

ALL our Undertakings (says the Apologist) have been attended with the greatest Success during Mr. *P—t's* Administration: If this eloquent Author had learnt to read, before
he

he had commenced Writer, he would have remarked, by more than one Passage in History, that it is one of the most palpable Errors and indicates a very weak Mind, to measure the Capacity of a Man in Place by the Success of the Schemes which have been carried on under his Administration; I confess that that Success is and ever will be a Prepossession in his Favour; but who will take upon himself to assert, that the same Schemes had not before been planned by his Predecessor? Or that those which have appeared under his Name, were not the Study of some intimate Friend, or some auxiliary Pen? Let no one so far deceive himself, as to suppose that the Success of an Undertaking is always a certain Proof of the extraordinary Merit of a Man in Place; since, under the Administration of a great Minister, endued with the most consummate Prudence, Circumspection, and profound Erudition, the public Interest may be in Danger, and may flourish under the Management of a far less cultivated Genius.

How many Examples could I produce to make good this Assertion! but, for Brevity's Sake, I shall only recite the following:

Cardinal

Cardinal FLEURY, when at the Head of the *French Ministry*, was regarded, throughout all *Europe*, as the most able Minister they ever had in *France*: our late sagacious Queen *Caroline*, of happy Memory, acknowledged him as such; yet this lofty Prelate, like the Jay in the Fable, had the Art of adorning himself with borrowed Plumes.

HAD I Time to examine into the whole Conduct of this haughty Prelate, I would clearly demonstrate, that it is owing to his Incapacity for the Management of State Affairs, that *France*, in a short Time (if our Union and Correspondence continues) that *France*, I say, will not long be able to oppose us, and that it will be in our Power, not only to give Law to her, but to hinder her from troubling the Repose of *Europe*, when we shall be able to bring about for ourselves and our august Allies the happy Consequences of a Peace. 'Tis not in so small a Performance as this, that I would enter upon a Proof of what I now assert, it is only to the Sensible and Unprejudiced that I would impart the Means by which the Success of this laudable Undertaking might be accelerated.

WITH

WITH what *Eclat* did they behold the aforementioned Cardinal in *France*, and all the Courts of *Christendom*! And, if we might judge by Appearances, ought we not to entertain the highest Opinion of this Minister, especially after the War, which terminating by the Treaty of *Vienna*, put *Lorraine* under the Subjection of *France*, and brought into her Interest several Princes of the Empire? What Encomiums might one heap upon this Minister? What favourable Sentiments might not one conceive of his supposed great personal Abilities? The Truth is, That those who were better acquainted with the Incapacity and narrow Genius of this Prelate (who excelled in nothing so much as in his Hypocrisy) did not dare to disclose their Sentiments, or to set before the Eyes of the People, the irreparable Injury, which from his ill Management and sordid Avarice would accrue to his Country. 'Twas absolutely essential for them to hold with the Opinion of the Multitude, as they would otherwise have been ridiculed, and esteemed proper Objects for *Bedlam*.

If, at this Time we appeal to the Sentiments of those who are best qualified to form a right Judgment of the Abilities requisite

fit for a Minister of State, they will not only acknowledge, that this Prelate was, in many Respects, very ignorant, but that he possessed in the highest Degree, the Art of contriving how to keep his Place, and bear an absolute Sway over the Will of his Master, and the Actions and Sentiments of the Subjects.

THIS Parallel is drawn with no other Design than to satisfy those who are not thoroughly convinced in this Point, that the happy Results of an Enterprize are only known by a Series of happy Events, and that for a certain Proof of their Stability, there ought to be a Succession of them to distant Times, before we can justly say that it is to such and such an Administration that we are indebted for such or such an Advantage.

WHEN the Foundation of an Edifice is not firm, the Body of the Building, which at first Sight ravished the Eyes of the astonished Spectator, sinks and falls to the Ground at a Time when 'tis the least suspected.

If my Comparison is just, and in Effect the Nation is obliged to Mr. *P—t* for all the Laurels and Prosperity with which she is honoured, the Proof will be shewn by their Duration, confirmed by the able Minister who succeeds him; the first will with Glory spin, and the second, with less Honour, Art, and Merit, weave; and both will deserve, to the latest Posterity, the Blessings and Encomiums of the Public.

BUT, under whose Inspection will these Ministers have employed their wise Talents? Under that of a Monarch trained up from his Infancy in the Science of Princes; under that of a Privy-Council, where *Minerva* presides, under the Form of another *Minister*; and aspires only to conduct her Hero into the Centre of Glory seated in the temple of Peace; and lastly, under that of a Parliament, composed of judicious Members, truly acquainted with the national Interest; and, may God grant, that having always in View those precious Privileges which are the Support of a happy Liberty, they may ordain Laws correspondent therewith! Evidences so respectable and illustrious as these, will be Oracles sufficiently eloquent,

eloquent, to convince the People that their Rights and Properties are vested only in the Hands of those who are truly worthy to support and defend them,

SHALL we rather give Credit to those mercenary Pens, who blush not to sound the Alarm on the most trivial Disadvantage, and who by their daring Prognostics, and their erroneous Suppositions, aim only to excite Timidity in weak and credulous Minds. To what Purpose should we, by false and chimerical Suppositions, suspect any fatal Event, when every thing before us affords a joyful and pleasing Prospect?

OUR Hopes are founded on our late Success: I term Success (and which is thought very great throughout all *Europe*) to have been able to this Time, and with as few Troops as we and our Allies ever sent into the Field, to oppose six Armies so formidable as those which our Enemies have had in *Germany* since the Commencement of the War. I term Success, the naval Force of *France* being reduced to a small Number of Vessels, and even those obliged to conceal themselves. I term Success our Conquests in *America*; I term Success, the Victories

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gained

gained by our Fleets and Armies in the *East-Indies*, and on the Coast of *Africa*; I term Success the glorious and advantageous taking of *Belleisle*; and above all, I term Success, his Majesty's happy Accession to the Throne, his august Marriage, his happy Coronation, and the universal Esteem of his Subjects, which crowns this immortal Epocha with a Zeal not to be equalled in our Annals.

I SHALL not take upon me to say, with some emphatic Writers, that all these Successes, so brilliant and rapid as well as advantageous, are entirely owing to the high Capacity of Mr. *P—t*, I think I give him all that is in Justice due to the Superiority of his Talents, in saying that he has been one of the principal Instruments; I will rather say, that all these happy Events were wrote, from the Beginning of Time, in the Book of Fate, and that Heaven, willing to revive the Candour and Virtue of *Titus*, hath seated upon the *British* Throne the best of Kings; a Patriot King, equally the Love of his Subjects, and the Terror of his Enemies; and, that as a Prefage of his Happiness and Continuance of his Prosperity, Heaven hath showered down these Blessings
upon

upon the Nation, that they may daily revert to his sacred Person, and that of his august Spouse.

WITHOUT Doubt to the Number of so many heavenly Favours successively bestowed upon these Kingdoms, we may add the good Fortune we have had to see at the Head of Affairs, a pure, incorruptible, and able Minister, disinterested and indefatigable, a zealous Servant to his august Master, and an eloquent Defender of the Liberties of his Country, a tender and faithful Husband, a constant Friend, a good Master, and a good Citizen; this Encomium, in my Opinion, he justly deserves from the Nation in general, and will redound more to his Honour than all the Adulation a fanatic Zeal can bestow, of being the most able Minister that ever existed.

WHEN we judge of Things only by Appearances, and by the false Lustre which dazzles and deceives the Vulgar; we imagine that it is a very easy Matter for a Prince to choose, among all the great Men of his Court, one truly worthy to aid and support the Weight of his Crown, but so little
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we know of the Ways and Intrigues of a Court) this Choice is not so easy to be made: Suppose for Instance, a Sovereign is perfectly well acquainted with all the Qualifications necessary for a great Minister, the greater his Knowledge is in that respect, the more will he be embarrassed in his Choice. Of whom shall he ask Advice? Shall it be of those in whom he imagines he hath discovered the greatest Share of Wisdom and Prudence? Which of them will answer him in a perfectly disinterested Manner in the Nomination of a Subject whom they would advise him to employ in the Conduct of State-Affairs? An Employ so delicate, that every thing of Moment comes directly under his Cognizance.

WE live not now in Times, as formerly, when the Question was, whether the Sovereign ought to govern by himself rather than by a Prime Minister, Necessity and Custom immemorial permit and require it, and it would be mere Vanity to advise a Prince to govern by himself; all which Prudence and Wisdom requires of him, is not to imitate those inactive Princes, or those who being Slaves to their Pleasures, deprived themselves of all Authority, submitted

mitted themselves entirely to the Caprice and Ambition of any particular Man, who often by his Pride, Ambition, and Avarice, misused his Authority, to the Disgrace of his Sovereign, and the great Detriment of the Subjects.

Is a King is great and respectable by being a King, by what Means can he be more so, than by the Laws he ordains, the Favours he bestows, by the Recompense of true Merit, and even by the Punishment which he is under an absolute Necessity to inflict? These Particulars ought always to be inseparable from Royalty; and appertain properly to the Sovereign alone; to these many inferior Duties are annexed, which are incumbent on the Minister, and how could he be able to acquit himself with Honour, if he was not particularly endowed with those Sentiments and Virtues which distinguish a great Minister and Statesman from the Citizen of an inferior Rank?

For a Sovereign absolutely to entrust himself and the Management of his Government, to the Talents, Probity, and Capacity of one Man alone, I think that Man ought to produce Miracles as surprising

prising as those which happened in the Time of *Joseph*, who, after he had been sold by his Brethren, and a Captive in *Egypt*, *Pharaoh* seated upon his Throne, by trusting all Things to his Management; except in such an extraordinary Phenomenon as this, the Sovereign, as well for his own Glory and Interest, as that of his People, ought to interfere with, and assist in the Management of State-Affairs.

THE Choice of a Minister dispenseth not with the Necessity of having a Council of able Men, well versed in national Business, who may be able to forward the Plans proposed by the Prime Minister, with wise Advice, so that by the concurrent Opinions of these bright Luminaries, he may be the better able to direct his Course, to observe and shun the Rocks against which his Ship might be dashed and cast away. Nevertheless, if we review the Conduct of most of those who have been invested with the high Post of Minister of State, how few shall we find who have strictly fulfilled their Duty? I know that these Duties are innumerable, and require, besides the great Qualities of Wisdom and Circumspection, an exquisite Forecast in managing themselves

seives as Circumstances require. *Philip of Macedon* demanded of young *Cyrus* his Son, what his Tutor had taught him of the military Art? To exercise, said he, and to command the Troops in all Evolutions and necessary Motions, range the Cavalry and Infantry in proper Order, to put an Army in Battle Array, to advance against an Enemy, to know all their Works within and without a Place, and lastly, when to attack, and when to make a Defence. And is that all, said the King? Yes, replied *Cyrus*; then you know nothing, added the King, since he has omitted to teach you the Precautions necessary to be taken in a March, the Choice of a Camp, the judicious Practice of the different Orders of Battle, how to provide Sustainance for an Army, and prevent a Supply thereof to an Enemy, to hinder their Progress, to separate their Parties, to observe their Motions, and lastly to confirm by these and many other Manœuvres the Tranquility of the People who are to be protected, and the Glory of the Prince who protects them.

OF how many Ministers could it not be said, that they have had all the Knowledge requisite for a Minister of State, and yet

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been deficient in the Qualifications that ought to accompany them, to render their Talents as useful to their Prince as they might have been? To how many of them might it not have been said, if their real Friends might have had the Liberty of speaking to them, you know how to cut out, but you know not how to make up; you are much to be commended, being more industriously employed in State-Affairs than a common Citizen, devoting yourself, entirely to the Duty of your Office and thereto sacrificing all your Interest and Pleasures; you are not less so for examining with the strictest Scrutiny the Business of your Deputies; but, in the first Place you did not apply yourself to fathom the Depth of their Capacities. Your affected Gravity made them believe that you thought yourself a Deity; you know not how, at the proper Time, to bestow your Commendations upon them, to excite their Emulation and Diligence; thinking them incapable of some Particulars, you have undertaken them yourself, and mispent your own Time in doing the Work of a Subaltern; by an ill-judged Oeconomy you have not employed so many as you ought, which has prolonged the Execution of your Scheme,

Scheme, and retarded the Success, which Delay is always prejudicial to the Public Interest; your Discretion is disputed by none; 'tis known with Respect to the Secrets of which you ought to be the sole Depository, but you have made too much a Mystery of many Things, which should not have been concealed; and, at the Time you were thus employed, you were absolutely prevented from seeing and hearing those who for the Public Good should have been admitted to you. A Minister who would hear good Advice, should not be averse to hearing the meanest; from your too rigid Application arose your Solitude, and from that the Loss of a thousand known Essentials.

You have wrote whole Sheets in Folio, of what you would have done by your Scruties, when a few Lines would have been sufficient; you had Patterns to follow who granted neither Acknowledgments by Caprice, nor Favours through Ostentation; you have been a faithful and honest Man, but difficult, mistrustful, and fantastical, bestowing your Smiles on none but your Favourites and Slaves; you thought not to find your Equal, have you made any Enquiry? To

A SULLY in *France*, a *Le Fort* in *Russia*, a *Manteuffel* at *Dresden*, a *Bartenstein* at *Vien-na*, have they in their Turns been your Models? A Minister well versed in his Duty, like a skilful Anatomist, who is acquainted with the *Minutiae* of the animal Fibres, ought to be no Stranger to the most minute Occurrences that may promote the Interest of the State; nothing is unworthy of his Researches, Attention, and Thought; his Time shou'd be wisely divided and employed, like the Sun's Course, for the general Benefit. The King of *Sardinia*, *Victor Amadeus*, disguised himself, and *incognito*, mixed with the common People, to hear their Discourse about him; I do not mention him as a Model for others, for what End could it answer, were it not for discovering some Circumstances, which by his Management, might make for his Interest? A King of *Prussia*, glorious and triumphant, over Multitudes of Enemies, thinks it not beneath him to answer any Letter sent to him by the meanest Individual; by this political Attention, he discovers useful Men, and prevents those who have the Direction of his domestic Affairs, from imposing upon him, or molesting his Subjects.

A SHLISTÆD, a *Wolfenbuttel*, have Hours appointed to give Audience to Strangers; the Manufactory of *Brunswic* pursues the same wise Plan, have you imitated them? Were you placed in a higher Sphere than *Philip* Duke of *Orleans*, Regent of *France*? You are not ignorant that the meanest Person had Access to his Anti-chamber, where he had an Audience either from the Prince, or from the Cardinal *Dubois*, his minister, whose Genius our Ancestors as much extol, as he is censured by his own Country for the Depravity of his Morals? There is a Time to deny Audience, and a Time to admit: You very well knew, that although a Minister may be ranked with the highest Subjects of a State, yet the Post he enjoys does not give him all the Prerogatives of a Sovereign; a Prince is not a God; his Mind not being always so extensive as his Frontiers, he hath Need of a Pilot to assist him in conducting this immense Ship so often exposed to Storms or Revolutions more dreadful than the most furious Hurricanes. The greatest Statesman that ever *Rome* produced hath acknowledged that the Capacity of the Sovereign alone was not able to support so heavy a Weight as the Government of a large Empire, and that a Second was wanting to act as Mediator between

tween him and his Subjects, to accept their Petitions and respectful Representations, and to lay them before the Throne; to take upon him the Refusal of Favours that could not lawfully be granted, to soften the seeming Rigour of such Refusals by kind Expressions, and lastly to ease his Prince of those Troubles and Fatigues which would make his Dignity seem rather a Punishment than a Gift from Heaven.

If a Minister ought to be the Veil of his Sovereign, and to discharge these Functions, how will he be able to do it, if is not to be spoken with at appointed Times? And if he affects to shut himself up in his Closet under a Pretence of Multiplicity of Business, will not those who watch his Conduct infer from thence that he only conceals himself through Fear of exposing his Incapacity, or that his Audience must be purchased with a golden Bait?

To become Originals we must copy from no one; 'tis not the richest or most distinguished Men, more the Slaves of Pleasure than of Business, that give themselves the Trouble of reflecting, and of communicating their Reflections, concerning the Necessities

cessities of the People; 'tis generally Men restrained in their Fortune, who know, by their particular Station, Desire, or Emulation, how to consider and weigh, in the Balance of Experience, the Interest of the Public by that of Individuals. Can a Minister who by Contempt, or Presumption continually deprives himself of the Sight of these Men, boast of serving faithfully his Country? I appeal to those who know as well and better than me, the indispensable Duties of a Man who is the Prince's Confident, and is the Depository of Part of his Authority, as he ought to be of his most essential Duties. The Emperor may be in a languishing Condition, and if the Minister may be sometimes indisposed, he should nevertheless imitate the Sun, which is not every Day eclipsed.

I AM very sensible, that all I have before said is but a faint Description of all the Duties of him who is intrusted with the Reins of Government; we well know that the Revenues and Finances, the Quarters and Districts of the War, Commerce, useful and necessary Arts, and all other Branches which promote the Honour of the Crown, and the Prosperity of the State, require his Attention. I know also that my Arguments may admit
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of many Objections and Contradictions, which I expect *ad infinitum*; not from those who make Truth their Guide, but from some who think that in order to destroy any Maxims laid down, they need only imperiously build upon Negatives.

BUT to return to my Subject (for the Reader will think I have made a long Digression) with regard to Mr. P—t's Sentiments of declaring War against *Spain*. I have very carefully considered every-thing that might tend to the true Interest and Benefit of this Monarchy in every respect; but what Man can say he is infallible? Can I promise myself (who am not ignorant that as the Times change we also change) that I can, in my Speculations, be able to sift out the Truth of Things to that Perfection, as those penetrating Men, for Money can do, to whom the Secrets of Courts are no Secret? I shall be very well satisfied if my Readers vouchsafe to applaud my Zeal, which, in my political Reflections, serves only as a Torch to my Memory. I will nevertheless say, that to those who are versed in the Secrets of the Cabinet, the Advice of Mr. P—t, at this Juncture will appear to have been too precipitate, considering that neither his Catholic Majesty

Majesty, nor his Council (as we are assured from good Authority) had not, directly or indirectly, approved of the Depredations of any of his Subjects, who through Prejudice of Religion, or Motives of Interest, had countenanced any *French Privateers*, to the Detriment of our Commerce, in any Ports of that State.

FROM the Time that we were informed by our lawful Subjects of their having stopped and visited *Dutch Vessels*, which, contrary to the Tenour of the Treaties, supplied our Enemies with Arms, Provisions, and other contraband Effects, and that some of our Sailors had turned Pirates, and had ventured to stop some Ships of that Nation, the *French Ambassador* at the *Hague* used his utmost Endeavours to induce the Republic to declare War against us, *Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Dort*, and some other Cities, with the utmost Rage exclaimed against Mr. *P—t* and us, and without considering who were guilty, and who were not, turned their Resentment against the whole Nation.

THEIR political Writers, and with them, their Magistrates and Citizens, equally exclaimed against this Injustice and Violation

of the Treaties; the many Narratives that were published on this Occasion, breathed out nothing but Hatred and Animosity, and concluded always with Reasons, which they said were more than sufficient for a Declaration of War; what should Mr. *P—t* have said or done, who, at that Time, was in Possession of the Seals, if the *Dutch* had been on this Side the Question? Our Ambassador at the *Hague*, never acquitted himself with more Honour and Sagacity than at this Juncture, who in removing the Fears and Grounds of these Alarms, found out proper Means to invalidate the Efforts of the *French* Minister as well as those of all there who adhered to his Sentiments; so that the Republic, far from suffering themselves to be persuaded or intimidated by the Clamours of the People, or of giving Ear to the Promises of the Court of *Ver-sailles* (which are always to be suspected) acted in such a Manner as must be praised and applauded by the *Dutch* themselves as well as by all *Europe*.

Our Lords of the Admiralty issued out Orders that were approved of by the Parliament; we pursued our Commerce peacefully; the Offenders were severely punished;
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all Piracies ceased, and a good Understanding subsisted. Ought, at this Time, an Example parallel to this to be despised? Can we, without Disgrace and Injury to our Reputation, support any opposite Conduct against a Crown, which hath not yet made any Preparations sufficiently formidable to incline us to think that she intends to join our Enemies, and consequently to adhere to a Party, intirely contrary to her own Interests. Doubtless, the Ministers of the Court of *Versailles*; and, perhaps, with them a single Minister of the Court of *Madrid*, might represent Things in a different Manner; we should with more Reason suspect this Attempt, it being the only Method *France* can take, I will not say, to bring us under Subjection, but to put off and prevent their total Ruin, which, without extraordinary Succours, or the greatest Miracles, they would not be able to avoid; This I could clearly demonstrate in a larger Work. It is very well known to all who are acquainted with the Genius and Temper of the Court of *Madrid*, that the Majority of the *Grandeess* of *Spain* are not Partisans of *France*, but for their bag Wigs, laced Ruffles, embroidered Cloaths, gold Vests, and sometimes for *Burgundy*; he will

also know, that the *Spaniards* complain daily of the Proceedings of the *French*; at the Time of the War in *Italy* for the establishing of *Don Philip*; at the Time of the Engagement by Sea before *Toulon*, but more particularly of that imperious Demand of certain Sums of Money, as well to defray the Expence of the War that put *Philip II.* upon the Throne of their Monarchy, as for the Payment of the Widow of *Lewis I.* and the Debts contracted at *Bayonne* by that of *Charles II.* His judicious Remarks will also give him to understand, that the Finances of this Crown, considering the Expences she is obliged to be at, and the Debts of *Philip V.* which she is obliged to pay, are very far from being in that State the World imagines at the Arrival of her Gallies; that her Land-Forces are neither strong enough, or well disciplined enough, to expect great Feats from them; that her Navy may consist of forty Ships of the Line, as we may have forty Cages, and none or few Birds to put into them; and lastly, that her true Interest for the Preservation of her Possessions in *Italy*, (I mean *Naples, Sicily, Parma, Placentia, and Guesfalla*) require her being on the defensive Part, and not even to think of the offensive, nor to commence
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any War but with the greatest Deliberation; well knowing that an unsuccessful one would soon reduce her into that critical State in which *France*, her Neighbour, now actually finds herself. Have we not some Grounds to suspect that *Spain* privately rejoices at the low Ebb the *French* are reduced to, and she must expect no better Fare than her Neighbours, if the ambitious Schemes of *France* had succeeded.

'Tis in the Power of a great Genius and superior Mind (will say the Partisans of Mr. P—t) to anticipate and foresee the Advantages that may result from a *Coup de Main*. I will agree with them, provided they will apply this Maxim to any Power with whom we are already engaged in a War, but with respect to a State with which we are at Peace, we are only to be in Readiness for any Event; and a Minister who knows not how to penetrate into the Intention of his Neighbour, knows but in a very imperfect Manner, how to conduct Affairs of State. The wisest Politicians have always taught, that War must not be entered into but for the Sake of Peace; that this desperate Scourge draws after it so many Mischiefs, that we cannot too much commend

mend a Minister, who, by his Wisdom possesses the great Art of preventing it, or that of carrying it on with Vigour, and to be able to put an End to it, at a Time when he seems to be equally willing for either. If he is perfectly acquainted with the Science of governing, he knows that he ought not to trust to the Hazard of a Battle, that which might, perhaps, be obtained by peaceable Means, provided this peaceable Negotiation is attended with no Detriment either to the Prince or People.

It plainly appears by the Scheme of Mr. P—t, which was for bringing upon this Nation another War, that his Majesty and his Council were well persuaded, That if the obtaining the Laurels of *Mars* is one of the greatest Honours that can attend a courageous Monarch, yet the Slaughter preceding the Possession of them must certainly affect the Mind with a deep Sense of Pity and Concern; I would have him always victorious, if it were possible, without the Loss of so many of his faithful Subjects. The Cries of the indigent Widows and poor Orphans, do they never come to his Ear? Yes, the Narratives of his Victories conduct them thereto.

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NOTWITHSTANDING the great Success of his Majesty's Arms, from the Time Mr. P—t came into the Ministry, and notwithstanding all the Glory that attended it, I do not think them sufficiently brilliant and extensive to engage us into a new War, which without Doubt, would bring us into fresh Troubles abroad, and lay us under repeated Difficulties at the future Congress, which we may not be able to put an End to so easily as we created them. The Glory and Honour of the Nation, but more particularly her Interest, require the Support of her Allies in *Germany*; have they not deserved it by their Constancy and Courage, in bidding Defiance to that amazing Number of Enemies, who, if they had been absolutely Conquerors, would too soon have made us feel the Effects of their Victory? Are we free from all Apprehensions on this Head, and qualified to turn our Attention another Way? What numberless Reflections may a sagacious Mind form to itself concerning what is or is not proper to be done, for the Preservation of our Friends, and to our own Advantage? A principal Talent in a Statesman is to know how gradually to prepare the Minds of others, in order to bring them into his Way of thinking, even the most lawful Things. He ought

ought never to be affronted at Opinions contrary to his own, because a Conduct opposite to this is altogether prejudicial to his Administration.

THE Partisans of Mr. P—t begin to be of an Opinion, that it would have been infinitely more beneficial to the Good of the State, and would have tended more to the Honour of this able Minister, if he had first consulted some of the Members of the Privy Council separately, with regard to the Proposition he intended to make to them, of declaring a War against *Spain* before he had openly given his Sentiments on this Point; he would then have been able, in a proper Manner, to have insisted on a Satisfaction adequate to the Losses and Injuries our Ships had suffered, as well on the Coast of *Spain* as in *America*. In this he would have been more excusable, and though perhaps, even then, he might not have been better approved of by the Majority of the Members of the Council, yet it would have been more becoming than the violent and self-opiniated Manner in which he proposed it to them.

HASTY Resolutions are very unfavourable to the Success of an Undertaking; *Aristotle* saith,

faith, That the putting of any Scheme Into Execution, should be the Result only of mature Deliberation: Ought we not always to esteem it a false Generosity to give a Prince Council that by promoting his Honour may be prejudicial to the Public? and because Advice of this Nature is *Nem. con.* rejected, Mr. *P—t*, who was well acquainted with the Regard the Nation had for him, resigned his Place. What different Constructions could not be put on this Conduct? But better say little than judge too rashly: What could one say of any private Man, who is the Spring and Basis of the Sentiments of a whole Society, and who in a particular Case, finding all the other Members of an Opinion different from his, would give up his Trust? Could it not be said that he wanted, in a despotic Manner, to command the Suffrages of the Members of the Society, on his Side, without reserve? And if this Resignation had happened at a Time when all the Members had an absolute Occasion for his Assistance, could such a Proceeding be called generous? Ought any one to despise and domineer over the Plurality, because they have not immediately acquiesc'd in his Advice? Is it beneath a great Man to listen even to a judicious Opposition? Or ought not Wisdom and true Solidity to be a

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principal Faculty in a great Minister? Unto whom can we apply the Aphorism of *Lewis XII.* who said *Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare*, if not to a Minister of State, who is employed to act, on all Occasions, for the Public Good? It will be said, that on the Declaration of War against *Spain*, depended all the Success of Mr. *P—t's* Plans, as well for the present, as for the Time to come. This hath been, and is often now reported; but who are those that use this great and lofty Phrase? Why mercenary Wretches who consider not the Benefit of the Nation so much as that of their Purses. And who in their Senses would hazard themselves to the Calamities which stain'd the *Nile* with Blood, and made all *Egypt* groan, provided they did not fall upon them? Who are those that would join in Chorus with these Men? Only those learned *Ignoramus's* who know not that Events which proceed from such a violent Plan as Mr. *P—t* proposed are always uncertain and precarious; and that the wisest Man, if not perhaps the most glorious, engageth with as few Enemies as possible. If, because a Man is not approved of in every-thing by the Majority of a Council composed of prudent and sagacious Persons, is Cause sufficient for one in whom all the Nation confide, as the Protector

lector and Defender of their Priviledges, to resign a Place of Trust, it is to be feared that few Men, in other respects valuable, will be able long to preserve themselves in their present Situation : If, on the other Hand a Man in Place will never submit to the Opinions of others, what Privy Council could subject themselves to such Despotism ?

HAPPY are the People whose Prince is wise enough to guard himself against over-zealous Subjects, who, in some Cases may be more warm than cautious ; and who will not approve of any Schemes but such as his Privy Council shall think conducive as well to the Glory and Honour of their Sovereign, as to the Benefit and Prosperity of the Nation !

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